

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6445

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IR, PK, AF

SUBJ: WHY BALUCHI BROTHERS?

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT TREATMENT OF THE BALUCHIS IN AFGHAN ARGUMENTS FOR A "FREE PUSH-TUNISTAN" AND OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE GOA'S MOTIVES IN CHAMPIONING THE BALUCHI DISSIDENTS IN PAKISTAN.

2. FOR AFGHANISTAN THE ISSUE OF PUSHTUNISTAN PREDATES THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN. NOT SO THE ISSUE OF THE RIGHTS OF "OPPRESSED BALUCHI BROTHERS." AFTER ALL, "PUSHTUNISTAN" DOES MEAN "LAND OF THE PUSHTUNS" AND TRADITIONAL AFGHAN ARGUMENTS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH A STATE DWELL ON THE ARBITRARY DIVISION OF PUSHTUN TRIBES BY THE BRITISH IMPOSED DURAND LINE OF 1893. FURTHER, IF CREDENCE IS GIVEN TO THE SUPPOSITION THAT ONE FACTOR BEHIND AFGHAN INTRANSIGENCE ON PUSHTUNISTAN HAS BEEN TO SERVE THE INTERNAL PURPOSE OF UNITING AFGHANISTAN'S PROVERBIALY FRACTIOUS PUSHTUNS, THEN THE ESPOUSAL OF THE RIGHTS OF THE BALUCHIS SEEMS EVEN MORE PROBLEMATIC.

3. THE BALUCHIS HAVE ALWAYS REPRESENTED A LATENT PROBLEM IN
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AFGHAN ARGEMENTS FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUSHTUNISTAN. PUSHTUNISTAN,

AS DRAWN ON AFGHAN MAPS, IS COMPOSED OF THE NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN. THE INCLUSION OF BALUCHISTAN IS NOT INCIDENTAL AS THE PROSPECT OF ACCESS TO THE SEA HAS ALWAYS UNDERLAIN AFGHAN POLICY ON PUSHTUNISTAN. HOWEVER, THE EXISTENCE OF BALUCHIS IN AN AREA WHOSE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE HAS BEEN JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF PUSHTUN HOMOGENEITY HAS BEEN A WEAK POINT IN AFGHAN ARGUMENTS. THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT WAS SENSITIVE TO THIS INCONSISTENCY. AT LEAST, DURING THE LATE SIXTIES AND EARLY SEVENTIES, THE PEOPLES OF THE NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN WERE NOT REFERRED TO IN OFFICIAL SPEECHES AS PUSHTUNS, BUT RATHER "PUSHTUNISTANIS", BALUCHIS BECOMING "SOUTHERN PUSHTUNISTANIS".

4. WHILE THIS LARGELY LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION TO THE EXISTENCE OF BALUCHIS IN THE LAND OF THE PUSHTUNS HAD BEEN MADE, IT WAS NOT UNTIL DAOUD CAME TO POWER IN JULY 1973 THAT THE BALUCHIS WERE SINGLED OUT AND THE RIGHTS OF "BALUCHI BROTHERS" ESPOUSED AS IT WAS IN DAOUD'S FIRST MAJOR POLICY SPEECH OF AUGUST 1973. THE OFFICIAL GOAM 8589, AS RECENTLY EXPRESSED BY SAMAD GHANUS (DIREN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, MFA) TO DCM, IS CONSISTENT WITH THE HISTORICAL RECORD: THAT BALUCHISTAN HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONSIDERED AN ETHNIC SUBDIVISION OF GREATER PUSHTUNISTAN. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE IRANIANS MIGHT NOT TAKE AMISS AFGHANISTAN'S CLAIM TO SPEAK FOR ALL BALUCHIS, GIVEN THE NUMBER OF BALUCHIS IN IRAN, GHANUS REPLIED THAT THE AFGHANS HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO THE IRANIANS THAT THE GOA WAS CONCERNED ONLY WITH BALUCHIS LIVING IN FORMER COLONIAL AREAS, NOT THOSE LIVING IN "LEGALLY CONSTITUTED COUNTRIES".

5. IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT DAOUD DECIDED TO BACK THE DISSIDENT BALUCHIS GIVEN PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S DIFFICULTIES IN BALUCHISTAN AND ALSO BECAUSE TROUBLES WERE SEEN AS A TACTICALLY USEFUL WAY TO MAKE THE ISSUE OF PUSHTUNISTAN MORE VISIBLE AND PRESSING. SUCH A STRATEGY WOULD ALSO PUT THE AFGHAN CLAIM THAT BALUCHISTAN SHOULD BE PART OF PUSHTUNISTAN ON LESS SHAKY FOOTING. WHILE DAOUD'S FEELING FOR THE DISSIDENT BALUCHIS AND HIS DISTASTE FOR BHUTTO'S ACTIONS IN BALUCHISTAN MAY WELL BE SINCERE, NONETHELESS GIVEN THE HISTORY OF THE PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE, WE SEE THE GOA
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POSITION ON THE RIGHT OF THE BALUCHIS, CULMINATING IN DAOUD'S LETTER TO THE HEADS OF ISLAMIC STATES AND THE UN (REFTEL), AS PRIMARILY A STRIKE AT A TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY.

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